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ABSTRACT

Chinese television started in 1958 but variety in programming and production of sets priced within reach of individuals were slowed by the Cultural Revolution. Since the economic and political reform movement began in 1979, Chinese television has been maturing as an important cultural and political force. The People's Republic of China is a Third World nation but has a strong television manufacturing capacity. China Central Television (CCTV) and provincial and city broadcasting stations--all government controlled, and all broadcasting in color--reach half the households, perhaps 600 million viewers with more than 100 million sets. The audience is demanding and getting better programs, such as CCTV's own "Last Emperor," and many imported movies and series that have become national rages. Educational television has come on strong. Television, however, remains a tool of the government and party, tends toward the didactic, and is less outspoken than the press. News format is modeled on the American-Canadian but is much stiffer and more predictable. Some of the same issues and problems found in the West are surfacing in China: television has been blamed for encouraging violence, subverting traditional national values and distracting students. It is becoming more reliant on advertising, including foreign ads. Its future depends on the direction that will be taken by political and economic reforms; however, that direction has become more uncertain. Spending and the growth of a consumer-oriented market economy were slowed in 1989 as the nation attempted to curb rampant inflation. (Thirty-three notes are included.) (MS)

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CHINESE TV: BETTER BROADCASTING FOR THE BILLION

By Milton Hollstein

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CHINESE TV: BETTER BROADCASTING FOR THE BILLION

When he was in Beijing in September, 1987, for a week of NBC News programs originating in China, Tom Brokaw observed to one of his hosts that some of the shows would be seen by 20 million people. "Ah," said the Chinese. "But why so few?"[1]

China has the world's largest potential audience, 1.1 billion. Though the population rate has fallen in the 1980s, 15 million more are added each year. The size of the viewership is already staggering. Chinese TV now beams to more than 100 million homes, perhaps as many as 112 million, half the households, two thirds of the urban homes, possibly 600 million persons in all.[2] Antennae sprout from rooftops in adobe villages in the deserts of Xinjiang Province, 2,500 miles from the populous East, and from yurts in Inner Mongolia, wherever there is electricity.

Chinese TV started late, in 1958. It suffered through the reign of terror called the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, when it was used for self-criticism and for mobilizing the youth to work in the countryside.[3]

When TV went on the air, Beijing, the capital, with 9 million population, had 20 sets. Near the end of the Cultural Revolution the nation had about 200,000 sets. The emphasis was on collective ownership of receivers by factories or production

brigades or viewing in public places like parks, railway terminals and hotels.[4] Even 10 years ago few families dreamed of having such a valuable possession.

But in 1979 in response to decisions in the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, communist China embarked on bold capitalist-style reforms under its paramount leader Deng Xiaoping. He saw China's future as requiring a market economy and private initiative and less central planning as the "first step toward socialism." "Four modernizations" were stressed: science and technology, agriculture, industry, and national defense. Subsequent party congresses and national people's congresses reaffirmed that direction, though there have been some regressions, as in the "anti-bourgeois liberalization" campaign that followed the student demonstrations of 1987. The Thirteenth Party Congress of October 1987 found some leaders and much of the press arguing for more open discussion, somewhat akin to the glasnost movement in the Soviet Union, as an indispensable condition for implementing economic changes.

Government was by all Western accounts becoming more conservative in 1989. Official policy was to cool the superheated economy to curb inflation (officially at 20 percent a year). The official view was that the economic reform policy and its attendant thrust toward more openness were still in place, though Western news accounts indicated that the leadership's ardor for permitting a previously unheard-of

public dialogue was cooling.

Officially, price reform is viewed as an urgent need and the purchasing power of many groups has been reined in "to ease the strain between supply and demand." Public groups are now forbidden to buy color television sets.[5] Until Autumn 1988, at least, the number of sets in use was growing by 7 million a year and the country's 118 assembly lines had production capacity of 15 million.[6] Though becoming a millionaire there is now respectable and desirable, new China is still a Third World country, the per capita annual income averaging at less than $400 a year; yet buying a television set has become a priority for most families.

Not surprisingly, the growing audiences are demanding both better sets and better programs.

Structure and Control

China has 48 stations and 292 television centers and some 14,000 local relay stations. The national service, China Central Television (CCTV), which has 2,500 workers, emanates from Beijing. CCTV functions as a network and technically has some supervisory powers over local stations. It moved in 1988 into what by Chinese standards is a lavish facility. It is a 24-story color center with state-of-the-art equipment in central Beijing, surrounded by housing complexes for the workers.

All 22 provinces, five autonomous regions and three great

autonomous cities (Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai), plus many other cities, have stations, and viewers in most major cities have a choice of at least three channels. CCTV itself has three channels, the national channel and a local service, both on air from about 8:30 a.m. to 11 p. m., and a third that operates only about two hours a night. In addition, a local station, Beijing Television, operates independently of CCTV and broadcasts from about 6 to 11 p. m.

Television once was controlled by a Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs attached to the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Now all broadcasting and film are controlled by a Ministry of Radio, Film and Television under the State Council, the highest executive body of government. Subordinate radio, television and film bureaus operate at the local levels.[7]

Broadcasting is far less politically adventurous than the print media. Newspapers at all levels, though all official and all subject to Communist Party guidance, have been allowed considerable latitude to criticize practices within the system and encouraged to expose corruption as a necessary corollary to the economic changes, sometimes even to the point of challenging control by local party officials. Though some of these publication reforms appeared to be stalling in 1989, it was even being argued that private papers should be permitted to operate.

Yet there is no question that the main purpose of television is still to educate and to support and propagate the

party policies. Without arousing any discernible objection from television authorities, the State Administration for Industry and Commerce in 1988 flirted with the idea of using television to shame producers of "shoddy goods" as well as to organize a "hall of shame" exhibit in Beijing.

TV has done some shows of social criticism that have drawn sharp criticism from the public but not on themes that would outrage the party or goverment cadres. In June 1988 and again two months later in response to public demand, CCTV aired what the press called a "highly controversial" six-part series, "Death of a River." Eight months in the making, it centered on the culture of the Yellow River, the cradle of Chinese civilization.[8] The program reviled some of China's most cherished cultural values, its worship of the land, and symbols, the Great Wall, Confucianism, and dragons.[9] Though none of these relics of China's feudal past is sacrosanct in contemporary China, officially the series was viewed as daring, social commentary that could not have been vented safely in the past.[10]

Programs or the official interpretations of them therefore tend to be somewhat didactic. In 1985 CCTV broadcast the BBC series "Anna Karenina," which raised moral questions for a highly prudish and sexually repressed Chinese audience. A CCTV panel discussed those issues for the guidance of viewers. Accounts of the meanings in "Hunter" also tended to be instructive. Beijing Television bought 104 episodes of the American detective series. It became a rage in 1988-89, shown

on Thursday and Sunday nights and "finding a more enthusiastic reception in China than it ever did in the country of its origin," by one Chinese account. One viewer was quoted as seeing it as showing how investigators can break through bureaucratic barriers, another interpreting it as showing Chinese people how to get along with others.[11]

In 1982, CCTV broadcast the American series "Garrison's Guerrillas," about a group of Army men with criminal backgrounds who comprise a daredevil attack unit. When crime increased afterward, the show was blamed and heavily criticized in the official press. "From then on," said a CCTV executive, "we have given priority to those films that help audiences understand the world."[12]

CCTV has 10 production departments, news, sports, entertainment, documentary, economy (advertising), children's, education, drama, military (documentaries and coverage of special military events), and international.

The international department produces programs or adapts them from those produced by the 47 local stations and by the documentary department of CCTV. The aim is to introduce outsiders to China's land, people and customs. The international department also cooperates with foreign TV companies covering China. CCTV has mounted a number of co-productions with foreign companies, notably "Big Bird in China" with CBS and "The Silk Road" and "The Yangtze" with Japan's NHK.

CCTV airs a great deal of educational programming, largely

in the daytime, but instruction in English and French also is broadcast in prime time. In addition, the Ministry of Radio, Television and Film and the State Education Commission jointly operate 29 radio and television universities in Beijing and the provinces. These have given about 2 million people a chance to get a higher education through radio, television lectures and correspondence.[13] In 1988 there were about 100 ground reception stations for educational TV purposes.[14]

All channels broadcast in color, using the German PAL system. Color broadcasting began in 1973 in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai. But color TV sets are still in short supply. The press inclines to blame both an inept marketing system and difficulties in the more than the 50 manufacturing companies.

Programming

Chinese TV once ran heavily to revolutionary drama and Peking Opera. These are still staple fare, but viewers want and are getting more variety and better shows. Chinese TV carries some excellent and some banal shows, many modeled on the West: quizzes, sports spectaculars, soap opera, miniseries, and considerably more variety shows, music, and dance than on American commercial television. Performances of many of the world's major variety and ballet companies that flood China these days are taped at the theaters for broadcast.

China has a great artistic tradition in music and dance,

and much of it on television is charming. Viewers are not reluctant to complain when they find it less so. The traditional five-hour New Year's Eve show in February, 1988, drew much criticism at a CCTV forum the following month. Representatives from "work units" at the forum complained that the show, which featured songs, dancing and comedy, was insipid and dull. CCTV promised to do better.[15]

About 1,500 films, many from abroad, as well as foreign series are shown each year. The Russian 1969 film version of "War and Peace" dubbed into Chinese was a great favorite. The American "Little House on the Prairie" series was popular as were the smash Japanese series "Oshin" and a British series, "Yes, Minister." A major series shown during 1988 was an East German anti-Nazi thriller called "The Merciless Front." Some programs come through cultural exchanges with other nations.

A survey in Beijing found that half the capital's families watch TV and more than 85 percent watch at least three times a week.[16]

They complained that too much time was wasted on poor dramas, including some imported ones. However, CCTV has produced some lavish big-budget products that have drawn enormous audiences. A 120-chapter Chinese classic novel "A Dream of Red Mansions," written in the Ching Dynasty (1715-63) and considered an encyclopedia of Chinese feudal society, was made into a 36-part series in 1987 at a cost of $1.7 million, a stupendous sum by Chinese standards.

The drama department, called the Chinese TV series Play

Making Center, has its own studios. It also made its own version of "The Last Emperor," 28 50-minute segments aired beginning in autumn, 1988. Coming in at $2.7 million, is was the most lavish of the historical epics done by CCTV, although it cost only about an eighth of what Bernardo Bertolucci spent on his 1987 film version. The Bertolucci movie was dubbed into Chinese and shown in Chinese theaters at the same time the TV series was on air. Though there was a flap early in the 1980s over the rights to the book on which the two versions were based,[17] the TV producers publicly were unfazed by the competition. They said viewers could get something from both.[18]

Another charming series enormously popular in 1988 was "Journey to the West," based on the greatest folk figure in Chinese literature, the dauntless "Monkey King."

The children's department is regarded as particularly important because China has 320 million children despite an official "family responsibility" system that essentially limits most urban families to one child. It produces cartoons, children's movies, quizzes, classes, storytelling and the like. Some children's programs also are imported, and Japanese cartoons are especially popular.

News Programming

In one survey 77 percent of the urban audience said the news was the first reason they turned on their sets, although an overwhelming 96 percent of ther rural viewers said that

entertainment, particularly films and dramas about daily life, was their first choice.[19] About half the programs are light entertainment. News accounts for about 14 percent and sports about 5 percent of programming.

CCTV broadcasts a national news program, which goes out on terrestrial lines to the provinces, each evening at 7. Beijing Television broadcasts news at the same time, but in the provinces each local station typically follows the CCTV news with a local news program. The format is American-Canadian (Canadian foreign experts advise the CCTV news staff), with a twin-anchor concept. Before the 1979 reform movement, television newscasters raised their heads from their scripts only occasionally to look at the camera. They were "forbidden" from making mistakes and read loudly as if shouting political slogans. They wore Mao suits instead of the current Western business attire.[20] (In 1988 rumors flew that China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, might have died or been taken seriously ill when a news anchor named Zhang Hongmin appeared two nights in a grey Mao suit instead of a Western business suit and his coanchor Lu Jing wore a plaint tightly buttoned jacket instead of the usual ruffles. They explained they just wanted a change.[21])

There is still no happy talk on Chinese TV, but presenters and newscasters are considerably less stern than a decade ago. Some give much credit to the relaxed and pleasant style of Yue Sai Kan, a Chinese-American who became an acclaimed television personality in China by hosting a celebrated series

of 15-minute international documentaries called "One World" in 1986.[22]

The news itself is still solemn and fairly stilted. News shows almost always begin with a minute or so about a state visit, no matter how small the country or inconsequential the visiting dignitaries; in 1988 a delegation from the tiny European principality of San Marino got the same kind of lavish play as delegates from East Germany. Much of the rest of the news consists of stories about meetings. These often show cadres -- party or government officials -- sitting self-consciously listening to official reports. There is no crime news as such but some of punishment, since programs often make the point that crime will not be tolerated by showing handcuffed malefactors in a court of law receiving their sentences.

However, CCTV also features top world stories from Visnews and United Press Independent Television.

CCTV also airs a 20-minutes English-language news program at 10:10 p.m. Mondays through Fridays. It started at the end of 1986 as an experimental program aimed at foreigners and, to a lesser extent, English-language students. It is followed by a half-hour film either in English or dubbed. The English-language news is essentially a translation of the Chinese. The films that follow sometimes are strange selections from the American viewpoint, often poorly dubbed Chinese films of limited foreign appeal. One series shown in this time period extolled the People's Liberation Army on its

39th Anniversary. In one segment, on the Korean War, the Americans were portrayed as the aggressors and almost nothing in the show indicated that the U. S. "invasion" was a United Nations action.

A group of foreigners, including the cultural officers of some of the major English-speaking embassies, were invited to critique the English-language news show in March, 1988. They asked for more life-in-China features, more explanatory stories, Chinese lessons, and fewer long interviews. They also criticized a casual attitude toward timeliness, a common complaint about all Chinese media, including the official New China News Agency. Nonetheless, they agreed that the news program was meeting its objective of helping an increasing number of foreign experts and businessmen in China feel less isolated.

A popular news-feature program that aired until the end of 1988 was a five-minute show each weekday called "This Day in History." It enlisted wide support from foreign embassies, listeners, work units and others who supplied visual materials used in programs that introduced Chinese audiences to world historical events and figures.

An unprecedented development was news coverage of the Thirteenth Party Congress in October, 1987, and the National's People's Congress, the legislative body, in March, 1988. Press conferences were covered live and summarized in prime, or "golden" time.

The congress was covered by about 400 newspersons

worldwide. It included an amazing two-hour press conference by the then-premier (later party general secretary), Zhao Ziyang, who mingled with reporters and cameras joking and answering all the questions put to him, including some once-unheard of irreverent ones such as where he had his suits made. Conflicts among delegates to the People's Congress were reported and some sharp questions asked on air at the press conferences. However, coverage of the most recent People's Congress, in March, 1989, was considerably more subdued, following the dampening down of the reform movement. The typical Western view was that China's communist leaders have decided that political openness is a liability.[23]

Other Problems and Issues

The newspapers, which heavily promote the national economy and national consensus and often point to defects in the economic system, have called attention to the economic strains of TV production. The official Economic Daily wrote in January 1988, for example, that the country had paid a heavy price for the development: "In Shanghai manufacturing one television set costs $100 in imported parts. And to keep production going requires $50 million annually. As a result, five of the 12 color TV set lines in the city have had to be closed down."[24] A Beijing plant planned to boost its annual output to a million sets a year by 1990. It also exports 70,000 sets a year. China

is the world's top producer of black and white television sets and third among color TV producers.[25]

China is also moving rapidly into development of communications satellite system. In 1988 it launched its third successful communications satellite using its own Long March 3 carrier rocket.[26] The third ended the country's dependence on international satellites for domestic use. A Long March rocket also was planned to launch the first Asian area satellite, Asiasat 1, planned by a consortium of Chinese, British and Hong Kong interests.[27]

Some of the social criticisms TV faces continually in the West also are beginning to be heard in China, like this familiar and poignant complaint by a letter writer in the English-language China Daily:

> "My sister is 13 years old. She is now studying in junior middle school. She has managed to finish top of her class ever since she started school. But I became very worried when I went home to Shandong Province during my last summer vacation. I was told that she turns on the TV the moment she comes back from school and sits in front of it as long as the programs last. My parents can't do anything to stop her. She is madly infatuated with TV programs. I found that nearly all of the parents and teachers in my village complained that their children were going downhill."[28]

As in other countries, television is having some effect on movie attendance, which is dropping about 2 percent a year. The Chinese have been great moviegoers, attending about 20 a

year each, or buying about 20 billion tickets. The movie industry makes about 120 feature films a year, about the same as the United States. The industry has complained that the attendance problems stems mainly from TV's preemption of recreation time, though dancing, video games and sports also are siphoning off moviegoers. The theaters have been fighting back by making theaters more comfortable and offering better sound and pictures. Some Beijing theaters are using 70-mm projectors and stereo systems, expanding lobbies and adding air conditioning.[29]

Advertising was once denounced as a capitalist tool and still is not always understood even in a burgeoning commodity system. It is still crude in comparison with advertising in the more industrial world but has become progressively more sophisticated since it first appeared in 1979 and particularly in the past two or three years. It is, for example, beginning to emphasize consumer needs and to base its message on human motives and appeals rather than focusing on factories and equipment, though some of this kind of message is still seen.

CCTV's first ad, in 1980, was for Westinghouse, and now foreign advertisers, led by the Japanese, are buying more and more air time. Selling of air time is consistent with the trend to require all state-supported institutions to earn at least a portion of their own support. A half-hour weekly show ostensibly on business trends was paid for by the companies whose products were spotlighted; the obvious ethical problems were not unnoticed at CCTV but accepted as a necessity.[30]

Ads never interrupt programs and run in blocks after 7:30, typically around the news shows. Basic rates are $323 a half minute, more for peak viewing periods. Advertising expenditures in all media total only about $270 million a year,[31] less than Procter and Gamble spends on network TV in the United States. But like everything else in Chinese TV, the amount has been growing each year.

Summary

Chinese television started in 1958 but variety in programming and production of sets priced within reach of individuals were slowed by the Cultural Revolution. Since the economic and political reform movement began in 1979, Chinese television has been maturing as an important cultural and political force. The People's Republic of China is a Third World nation but has a strong television manufacturing capacity. Chinese Central Television and provincial and city broadcasting stations, all government controlled, all broadcasting in color, reach half the households, perhaps 600 million viewers with more than 100 million sets. The audience is demanding and getting better programs. These include many ambitious series, such as CCTV's own "Last Emperor," and many imported movies and series that have become national rages, such as "Hunter." Educational television has come on strong. The nation is self-sufficient in domestic satellites.

Television, however, remains a tool of the government and

party, tends toward the didactic and is less outspoken than the press. News format is modeled on the American-Canadian but is much stiffer and more predictable.

Some of the same issues and problems found in the West are surfacing: TV has been blamed for encouraging violence, subverting traditional national values and distracting students. It is becoming more reliant on advertising, including foreign ads. Its future depends on the direction that will be taken by political and economic reforms; that direction has become more uncertain. Spending and the growth of a consumer-oriented market economy were slowed in 1989 as the nation attempted to curb rampant inflation.

Epilogue

This report was written in early 1989, before the traumatic events of Spring 1989 convulsed the People's Republic of China and clouded if not braked the country's reform movement.

By all Western press accounts, the so-called "hard line" element that became dominant in the party and government during the crisis mobilized a television propaganda blitz to support its tortured accounts of the student demonstrations and the violent crackdown. As one report put it:

> "China's media are in the midst of a propaganda campaign of a kind not seen for more than a decade -- and perhaps not matched since the 1950s campaign against what the

> government called rightist critics. Television especially is saturated with stories supporting the government version of events, when the army stormed into downtown Beijing and used live ammunition to roust pro-democracy demonstrators from Tian An Men Square [on June 4, 1989]. The campaign is a textbook example of the official view here [in Beijing] of mass communication . . . as a tool of unification and pacification . . ."[32]

Officially, what the West calls the student Pro-Democracy Movement was a "shocking counter-revolutionary riot instigated by a handful of people with ulterior motives." The government maintains, contrary to eyewitness reports of foreign newspeople, that no civilians or students were killed when the army moved into the square.[33] The Chinese people have relatively few avenues for getting information other than through the official media. The Beijing Spring suggests that the slow movement toward a freer media system will now regress.

Footnotes

1. Tom Brokaw, press conference, U. S. Embassy, Beijing, Sept. 29, 1987.

2. Accounts of Chinese TV viewership are disparate. Some audience research is done by the stations and there is a considerable movement toward survey research in government and the universities. However, no ratings service exists and the television stations themselves have no research departments (Wang Yinzhaung, letter, Nov. 14, 1987). Ju Chunming, in "Television in China," China Illustrated, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, January, 1988, puts the number of sets at "more than 70 million." Most place it at more than 100 million based on aggregated annual sales of sets. The 112 million figure is from a 1988 survey cited by Wang Renzhong, "Major Developments in Chinese Telecommunications: An Overview," International Communication Bulletin, Vol. 23, No. 3-4, Fall, 1988. Similarly, accounts of total numbers of viewers differ markedly. Wang Jinsuo, "Advertising Helps in China, Too," Beijing Review, Oct. 3-9, 1988, places it at 300 million. The 600 million figure is from "TV now in 50% of homes," China Daily, Beijing, Feb. 15, 1988, quoting the State Statistics Bureau. The same account cited 72.2 million black and white TV sets in use, for a total of more than 100 million, including color.

3. Leonard Chu, "Changing Faces of China's TV," The Asian Messenger, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Winter/Spring 1981.

4. Leonard L. Chu, "Radio and Television in China," The Asian Messenger, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Autumn, 1976.

5. Ge Wu, "Policy of Reform and Openness Remains Unchanged," Beijing Review, Oct. 31-Nov. 6, 1988, p. 7.

6. "Import limits hurt TV output," China Daily, February 29, 1988, p. 2.

7. "Cultural Undertakings: Radio and Television," Encyclopedia of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1987, p. 587.

8. Guo Zhongshi, "TV series casts doubt on Chinese Tradition," China Daily, June 14, 1988, p. 1.

9. Li Jianguo, "Controversial TV Series 'River Elegy'," China Reconstructs, January 1989, p. 47.

10. Sao Jin, "China and Human Rights," China Reconstructs, January 1989, p. 43.

11. Lin Xia, "Hunting for Criminals in Chinese," Beijing Review, February 6-12, 1989, p. 34.

12. Ren Haihua, "Foreign TV shows a hit with viewers," China Daily, December 3, 1987, p. 3.

13. "China's Radio and Television Universities," booklet, the State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China, undated, but about 1987.

14. "Education TV now reaches all the Nation," China Daily, October 10 , 1987, p. 1.

15. Gao Anming, "CCTV says the show will continue," China Daily, March 2, 1988. Foreign comment also was uncharitable. See Marlow Hood, "Marathon bore greets dragon roar for China with an identity crisis," Sunday Morning Post, Hong Kong, February 21, 1988, p. 9.

16. Chen Qing, "Viewers ask for better TV dramas," China Daily, Nov. 9, 1987, p. 3.

17. "The Two Last Emperors," Xing Guan Cha (New Observations), Beijing, August 10, 1988.

18. Interview, Zhou Huan, Beijing, April 10, 1988.

19. Quen Chin, loc. cit.

20. Wang Nan, "Chinese Anchorpersons," unpublished, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, July, 1988.

21. David Chen and news agencies, "Newsman's Mao suit sparks rumours of Deng's death," South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, January 31, 1988, p. 1.

22. Wang Nan, loc. cit. The program got generous coverage in the American media. See for example "Yue Sai Kan: Amusing an 'Untouched' Audience," New York Times, January 12, 1986, p. F11.

23. See for example "China's Shifting Winds," Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1989; "China unveils new controls, taxes," AP dispatch in the Salt Lake City Deseret News, March 21, 1989, p. 1; David R. Schweisberg, "Chinese Premier: Reforms Are Failing," UPI dispatch in the Salt Lake Tribune, March 21, 1981, p. A1.

24. "China's consumers face two choices," Economic Daily analysis republished in China Daily, January 12, 1988, p. 4.

25. Nie Lisheng, "It's boom time for China's TV manufacturers," China Daily, November 28, 1987, p. 1.

26. Xu Yuanchao and Qi Hongmin, "Satellite will fly for Asia," China Daily, June 18, 1988, p. 2.

27. "Satellite launching a success," China Daily, March 9, 1988, p. 1.

28. Xu Xingtang, "TV worries rural parents," letter in China Daily, January 19, 1988, p. 4.

29. "Cinemas fighting back," New China News Agency dispatch in China Daily, June 9, 1988.

30. Peng Wen Lan, interview at CCTV, April 21, 1988.

31. Wang Jinsuo, loc cit.

32. Daniel Williams, "In China's Media, Official View Is the Only Message," Los Angeles Times, June 13, 1989, p. 1.

33. "Counter Revolutionary Riot Quelled," Beijing Review, June 12-25, 1989, p. 9.